

Mr. MOAKLEY. I thank the gentleman from Texas.

And now, Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to introduce the Congressman representing the first district in Massachusetts (Mr. JOHN OLVER), a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. OLVER. Mr. Speaker, first, I want to thank the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY), the dean of my Massachusetts delegation, for putting together this opportunity to say something in a public way to honor JOE KENNEDY and the service he has provided here in the Congress of the United States; and also to say that I am very happy to join all the others from the Massachusetts delegation and the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. PATRICK KENNEDY), the younger Kennedy, who will soon be the elder Kennedy in the House of Representatives, although I am sure we will probably have some others from this far-flung family that has such a great legacy, as those who have already spoken have mentioned.

I, probably more than any other Member of the Massachusetts delegation, owe my presence, my opportunity to serve in the House of Representatives, to the assistance, JOE, that you gave, you and Beth together, gave me when I first ran for this seat in 1991.

JOE KENNEDY and his wife, Beth, campaigned with me in several of the cities, several places in the district that I presently serve, as it was constituted at that time. And I was always very grateful for that assistance, although I must say that, usually, in the events that JOE attended on my behalf, people would stampede by me wondering who the devil that was in the way when they wanted really to get to where he was and to be able to show their love for his father as well as his two uncles and to have a word from the various experiences that they had had over a period of time with them earlier.

My campaign staff always said that what I really ought to do on those events was to make certain that I kept right at JOE's elbow. And, of course, if I got right at his elbow, then I could immediately see the cameras trying to figure out how could they get this bald, toothless person out of the picture that they were taking.

And, of course, secondly, they would say, well, get yourself in between Beth and JOE. So we tried that. But that did not seem very comfortable, because I always preferred to go off in a corner and watch how JOE KENNEDY would work a crowd, a crowd of elders or a crowd of young people, whoever it happened to be, and it really it was really a revelation to me of how one should go about campaigning. There I was in my own district, but to have JOE come in and be able to show how campaigning really ought to be done in the true Massachusetts and true Kennedy tradition, that was certainly something that was important for me to know.

Various people have said things here about what JOE fought for and what

JOE KENNEDY voted for and always able to know that he was fighting for and voting for those things that would help the poorest and the neediest in our society. And, yes, we all have memories of his leadership on matters like the homeless veterans and the School of the Americas.

I suppose I remember most closely those several fights over logging rights in the national forests year after year. Sometimes, he would win. Win once, come very close, or win a vote and find a few days later that that vote was snatched away in one way or another among the various nefarious ways that those things can happen in the Congress.

And, yet, JOE would come back again each year, every year, to try to put an end to that process of spending millions of dollars on building roads into our national forests to the benefit of a very small number of the largest logging companies, who were then the further beneficiaries not only of the roads that we would build but also of the low-cost timber sales along the way, that kind of fight against the large corporations.

And his leadership in the Committee on Banking and Financial Services as the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Opportunity, continually fighting against redlining, that discriminatory practice that has been so detrimental to so many of our older communities, communities of great need.

And so I certainly would associate myself with the comments that have been made by several people, perhaps by the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. PATRICK KENNEDY). I do not know how he escaped to Rhode Island, but he seems to be quite well entrenched there. And also my dean for somewhere into the 21st century, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY), his comments along the same lines.

I would say that, indeed, JOE will be back at some point along the way in one of those roles that has been suggested, and he will still be fighting for those things he has fought for here openly, and as a happy warrior, without any quarter given or expected in those fights along the way.

JOE, I want to wish you and Beth the very best in that interim period. It has been great to have your friendship and your assistance over this period of time, and I am very happy to be able to call you a friend.

Mr. Speaker, I thank all the Members who have spoken here tonight. There are many, many other Members that would like to be here but have other commitments.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the tribute to our colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. JOE KENNEDY).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PITTS). Is there objection to the re-

quest of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT PROPOSALS ON APPROPRIATIONS BILLS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MICA) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be here tonight, as Congress winds up its responsibilities and completing its 13 appropriations measures, most of which have been agreed upon. And I think it is very important that tonight I address why Congress is still here and what some of the differences are that remain.

Most of the eight or nine easy appropriations bills have been agreed upon, and we are now down to the last few measures which Members of the House and the other body and the administration must agree to.

□ 2200

Tonight I want to discuss some of the major differences between what separates the Democrats and the Republicans at this juncture. The major difference really on most of the issues boils down to just a couple of items. One is keeping control in Washington, and then also the other part is whether we spend significant amounts of taxpayer dollars on bureaucracy, on waste, on administration and control in Washington, and not really addressing the real problems that our country is facing.

Tonight I would like to focus on the differences, what I consider real differences, between Republican proposals and the Democrat proposals. I think that one of the problems that we have is some of the proposals that our colleagues from the other side of the aisle, particularly those with a liberal bent, are proposing at this stage are ideas and concept whose time have really passed. I think they have old ideas. They have been used to spending more and getting less.

I think we have a different approach. We want to look at new ideas and how, with taxpayer dollars, we can get a better return, spending either the same amount of money or increasing it within the terms of the budget agreement for a balanced budget that we agreed upon.

Tonight I would like to talk a little bit about education, which we have heard bandied about the House Floor the last few days. I would like to talk about the subject of drug abuse and that problem facing our Nation.

If I get the opportunity, I would like to talk a bit about health care reform, which I think health care is a very important issue and particularly a reform that is necessary.

Let me review for a few minutes, if I may, what has taken place while the

other side of the aisle controlled this body for the last 40 years. In 40 years, I believe, the other side was very well intentioned and well meaning, but unfortunately run and directed by liberals, again with old ideas, who during that tenure built a very costly and unresponsive bureaucracy, particularly in the area of education, which I would like to address first and then I will talk about several others.

I believe, never in the history of mankind, has there been created a bureaucracy in education that the liberals have come up with for this Nation. In 40 years, they have taken American public education from the greatest system to one of the weakest education systems in the world. In the process, they have taken teaching from a profession and turned it into a weakened, common labor and also into an endurance contest for those teachers who are dedicated and willing to remain in the classroom.

In 40 years, they have also managed to take any reverence or acknowledgment of a supreme being out of the classroom.

In 40 years, again, these well intentioned but, I think, misguided Congressmen and women and liberal jurists have taken discipline out of our classrooms and replaced teaching with teacher endurance and teacher abuse.

In 40 years, they bogged down State and local authorities in an incredible morass of red tape, paperwork and endless regulations.

Let me say also at this point that I consider myself a very strong advocate of public education. My studies and my degree at the University of Florida were from the School of Education. I am pleased to be married for the past 27 years to an individual who spent many, many years as an elementary school teacher, and very devoted to public teaching and taught in public schools.

I believe that we have no more important responsibility in our society than to provide for good, sound and useful educational opportunity for every American.

Somehow we have really strayed away from the right path in public education, and we have destroyed that great system of public education that I received and so many Americans had access to. All one has to do is ask any parent, ask any teacher, any principal, or anyone who takes time to really observe education today, and they will hear the same response.

Let us take just a brief look at what, again, this liberal and misguided Federal education policy has produced, and I might add it has produced some of the problems we have at tremendous expense to the taxpayer who is paying the bill for what they have created.

In 40 years, Democrats have created 788 Federal education programs. We have so many programs, it is almost impossible for Congress to oversee or even count or keep track of all of the programs.

All of these programs have one thing in common. They keep control in Washington.

They actually have another thing in common that really costs the taxpayers a great deal and does not contribute much to education, and that is they, in fact, have created huge bureaucracies.

Mr. Speaker, the bureaucracies start right here in Washington with the Federal Department of Education. The Federal Department of Education has a total of 4,900 full-time employees in the department. There are 3,600 Federal Department of Education employees in buildings here in Washington, D.C.; 3,600.

Just imagine if we reduced that number, if we reduced the number of programs, and that is what we have recommended, we have recommended consolidating some of the Federal education programs, the duplicate programs. We have recommended that the money should not go to bureaucrats in the Department of Education. We can have a Department of Education, but do we need 4,900 in the Department of Education?

Some might say this number is a little bit lower than it has been in the past. What the Department of Education has very cleverly done at the Federal level is if they have reduced the full-time number of employees but have an army of nearly 10,000 consultants on contract with the Department of Education. So we are paying somewhere in the neighborhood of 15,000 Federal bureaucrats and administrators. Of course, each one of these 788 programs need a small host of administrators.

I will never forget in an oversight hearing, when we had from Detroit a teacher who came and talked about Federal education programs and the constraints, the bureaucracy, the rules and regulations that had been created. This teacher was asked the question, what is it like trying to deal with these different programs and trying to make your program work?

I will never forget what that educator said: Well, it is a little bit like giving birth to a porcupine. That is how complicated this morass of Federal regulations is.

Now, these people in Washington must have something to do, and they have created this incredible maze of Federal education bureaucracy. So in order for any of our local officials or our state officials, our local school boards, to get an answer on any education program and the morass and reams and pages and pages of Federal regulations which they now justify their positions by producing, they must go to this maze in Washington, D.C.

This maze, one might wonder where the rest of these folks are, these 4,900. There are 3,600, as I said, in Washington, D.C. The rest are in regional offices. There is not one in classrooms. I venture that if one looks at the sala-

ries, and I chair the Subcommittee on Civil Service, one would see most of these individuals are earning between \$50,000 and \$100,000. Imagine the results if that money was sent to each of our hundreds of school districts across the Nation.

Again, I think there is a place for a Federal Department of Education, but do we need the mass of bureaucracy that we have created? Again, their number one responsibility is administering these 788 programs and producing the rules, the paperwork and all of the other requirements that are cast on our local school boards and our principals and finally on our classrooms. So that is a part of what we are facing as a Nation and as a Congress.

The easy part was done a little over a year ago, when we came up with a balanced budget plan. We know that we have to limit the amount of increases. We are increasing, and Republicans have increased education funds almost in every single area, more money in scholarships, more money in almost every single education program.

It may not be as much as the President would want or as some of the liberals would want, but we are doing it in the context of a balanced budget to limit the increases, not taking in and then spending more than we have taken in.

Let me say something else about what has happened under this well meaning but somewhat gone askew policy that has been established by the other side. School funding has more than quadrupled in the past 40 years, but teacher salaries have only increased 43 percent. That is a four-fold increase in the money that we put into schools, but less than a 50 percent increase for teacher salaries.

Where has the money gone? This article was in Investor Business Daily, who did a study in February of this year. The money has gone to the administrative bureaucracies. Consequently, teachers now barely account for half of the personnel in public schools.

Listen to that. Where has the money gone for education? It has not gone to the classroom, and it certainly has not gone to the teachers. Let me repeat this again: The money has gone to administrative bureaucracies. Consequently, teachers now barely account for half of the personnel in our public schools. So we are not spending money in the classroom.

One of the great debates that we have had here in Congress was a Republican proposal that said that money, Federal money, which only accounts for about 6 percent of all of the money in education, that our Federal money, 95 percent of it should go to the classroom and to the teacher and to the student and to basic education programs, and now that does not happen. That is why we have teachers leaving the profession. That is why teachers are not adequately compensated, because of the huge bureaucracy that we have built

and that we require with this massive administration.

That is what part of this debate is about, and I am going to talk about some specific programs in just a few minutes.

The President wants 100,000 teachers. Mr. Speaker, I would propose that we turn that around and we do away with 100,000 administrators. We could start in Washington, D.C., with the army of 15,000. We take over 10,000 on contract and another 4,900, then the mass of bureaucracy and administrators that must support us to the point where over half of school funding now goes for nonteaching activities.

So if we want to do something beneficial, why not do away with 100,000 bureaucrats.

□ 2215

What is interesting, too, if one studies this, one will find how much these administrators make and this bureaucracy makes as opposed to the teacher in the classroom. The teacher, whose ultimate responsibility it is to produce the students, and we have another problem with the quality of teachers in our classroom, not to mention the compensation, and I will talk about that in a minute.

I come from the State of Florida, and I served in Tallahassee. The only building that I think is bigger in Tallahassee, Florida, than the capital, and Tallahassee is our State capital, the only building that is bigger I believe than the State capital building or as tall as the State capital building is the Department of Education. So we have required the building of a bureaucracy in Washington, in regional offices, and a good number of these folks that are not in Washington in the Department of Education are in regional offices and then in State capitals throughout the Nation.

So this is a part of the problem, and this is part of the battle. The easy part was when we balanced the budget, and we were called all kinds of names, and it was going to be the end of civilization as we knew it. But all we said is we are not going to take in and then spend more than we take in. It was a simple plan, and it worked, and it did balance the budget in record time. Now the tough part is improving these programs and getting quality, putting in dollars and getting a better return.

Now I ask any member of this body to sit down and talk with teachers, principals and school officials and see what some of the basic problems are with education today. And those individuals will all tell us the same thing. First, they will tell us that there is a need for fewer regulations and paperwork. I met with our school superintendent, one of them, last week, and they will tell us that the regulations, the edicts, the mandates from Washington, D.C., that go to the State capitals and on to our local school board are financially bankrupting our local school system.

And the money is not going into the classroom, but this mass of regulations is paperwork, is requiring that everyone do something other than educate our children and on a quality basis. So everyone will tell us the same thing. That is part of what this battle, why we are here a couple days late, but that is part of what we are talking about, is how those taxpayer dollars are spent and how effective these programs are for our children.

Mr. Speaker, ask any teacher, again, ask any principal or school official, and they will tell us that another problem is rewarding good teachers, that we adequately compensate, we reward, we hold them in respect, and that we also have a way of eliminating poor performers. We must do that.

I chair the Subcommittee on Civil Service. In our Federal workforce we have many people who go to work every day and they do a great job, but there are a few folks, just like in Congress, except in Congress people get to vote them and they vote out the poor performers, unless they subvert the process, but eventually they are kicked out. The same thing we need to do in the classroom. We need to reward good teachers so that the money that we are spending here in Washington that less than 6 percent finds its way to the teacher and to the classroom, and we reward good teachers, and they have a mechanism to deal with poor performers.

But we have built up such a shield in all of these regulations that it is almost impossible now and also with turning a profession into a labor position to deal with the poor performers, and we have the same problem in our Federal workforce.

It is unfortunate, and we heard these statistics on the floor, that in some States teachers who have been tested cannot pass basic tests, and this must be addressed, the question of quality teachers in the classroom. So these are some of the items that need to be addressed.

This third item I want to address, and, again, this is one of the problems I hear recurring everywhere I go. Every teacher mentions it, every principal mentions it, everyone who deals with education today. The problem of discipline in our classrooms. Here, again, these regulators have passed an incredible maze of regulations. That is their job. They have passed all of these regulations, and we have liberal Members of Congress who side with liberal jurors, and there is no longer discipline, there is no longer respect, there is no longer order. How can a teacher teach without discipline in the classroom?

One of my district staff member's teacher is a teacher in central Florida. She has been attacked twice, and I am not talking about a school that is in Detroit or an urban setting or New York or Los Angeles. I am talking about a suburban setting. She was physically attacked, twice.

I brought into central Florida, because of my interest in trying to cur-

tail the problem of drug abuse and the heroin deaths and cocaine deaths we have had with our young people in central Florida, I brought an oversight subcommittee in for a hearing in Lake Mary, Florida, a beautiful area, one of the loveliest places in central Florida to reside. And we had, in the drug hearing that I conducted, we had school security officers, we had school principals, we had law enforcement, local officials, teachers, parents and students all testify and talk about the problems of the classroom.

I was stunned and the members of our panel were stunned that the principal told us that they have lost control of discipline, that the school security officer told us that they can do nothing about students who violate the law in their classroom, because, again, of these liberal regulations, rules and judicial decisions. They are really captive to a classroom that has no discipline. And when that happens, a teacher cannot teach.

So this is another problem, again, well-intended, but it is something we are trying to address as a new approach, and it may be tough love like balancing the budget, but until we get control of our classrooms and return discipline to the classroom, allow a teacher to teach, we will continue to have these problems.

Again, I point to my suggestion, rather than 100,000 bureaucrats starting in Washington, Atlanta, Tallahassee and the others that are required, even requiring our school board to have the massive administrators to carry out the mandates from Washington, that we reverse that and that we concentrate on paying our teachers that are in the classroom, giving them the resources for the classrooms, making that 95 percent of Federal money, only 6 percent of all the money going into education effective.

What is interesting is we at the Federal Government in this Congress only supply 6 percent of education money but we provide 90 percent of the rules and regulations and mandates. That is why we have had this loud cry across the land for charter schools. Enough is enough. Let us run our schools.

The problem again we have is people in Washington think they know it all. That folks at the local level are too dumb, too ignorant, incapable. They cannot run their own schools. They cannot educate. The decisions have to be made here. The power must stay here. And that is basically what this whole battle is about, is who controls the purse strings and the power. That is why we are here late into the evening, that is why the appropriators are still meeting, because it is a question of power and control and changing all of that from up here in Washington to the local school boards.

Finally, I think it is important that we look at the results that 40 years have brought us. Again, I am a strong advocate of public education. I attended public schools, my children attended public schools, and we have to

look at the incredible amount of money we are putting into the system, and then what the results are that we are getting.

Here are some of the results after 40 years:

Reading test scores. Reading is fundamental, absolutely basic. Mr. Speaker, 60 percent of 12th graders cannot read at a proficient level. That is absolutely astounding.

Mathematics test scores. The average score for eighth grade United States students on the math portion of the third international math and science study was 500, 13 points below the international average of 513. At least 20 countries scored higher than the United States.

Science test scores. How important for the future. The average score for eighth grade U.S. students on the science portion of the third international mathematics and science study was 534. Some countries, such as Singapore, Japan, and Korea achieved scores of over 600.

History test scores. Only 17 percent of fourth graders, 14 percent of eighth graders, and 11 percent of twelfth graders, that is graduation level, are proficient in history.

Scholastic Assessment Test scores, commonly known as SATs. In the 1994-1995 school year, 41 percent of the graduates took the SAT test. Of those, the average combined score was 910. This has dropped from 937, the average score in 1972.

Let me tell my colleagues another appalling statistic in my State, in my locale. Across the Nation, those entering our community colleges, of those entering freshman, over 50 percent require remedial education. One of my community colleges, the president of the community college told me it is 70 percent of his entering freshmen. And this failure of education costs us money.

Here is an article recently from central Florida, Orlando, Too Many Students, the headline is, Not Learning Basics. The State is spending \$52 million on remedial education, just to bring community college students up to speed.

Now, it would be easy to come and just criticize what has been done in the past, but I think it is important that we look at what our side, the Republican majority, has proposed in the field of education. First of all, again, this mass of hundreds and hundreds of highly bureaucratic, expensive-to-administrate 788 programs. Our Dollars to the Classroom Act consolidates 31 Federal education programs into a single flexible grant program for States and communities. The legislation will provide \$2.74 billion funding for local schools. Instead of, again, increasing money for bureaucrats in Washington, our Republican majority's plan eliminates a tangled web of red tape, which ensures that tax dollars will really reach our individual students, our classrooms and our teachers.

□ 2230

While the Republican majority tries to always speak out for parents, students, and teachers, the other side remains mired in the politics and the policies and the approach of the past. They end up defending groups and organizations who are intent on keeping the status quo in education.

The most important thing we can do, I believe, is again, getting funds to the classroom. We have a very specific proposal to do that, as I said, through this proposed consolidation. We also have another proposal for increased parental control. Funds from this legislation can be used for a wide variety of activities, including new technology, instructional materials, education reform, and professional development. Individual school districts will be able to work with parents to select what activities are best suited to their communities and to their needs.

This is a unique approach. Rather than Washington telling them what they must do, they will be partners in deciding what is done. In fact, if local communities are happy with their current programs, this legislation does not require that they make any changes at all. So these are some of the proposals that we have made, again, trying to improve the quality and get dollars to the classroom.

Mr. Speaker, let me go over a couple of the other proposals that we have made. I want to repeat them, although Members have heard the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING), who has done an incredible job leading the committee of jurisdiction, and other Members talk about them. But let me reiterate some of the things that the Republican Congress is doing to improve educational opportunities for all Americans.

First, we have improved our public schools by sending more money to the classroom for teachers, for computers, for safer buildings, and for teacher testing. Again, we have sent the money there.

We had a great proposal in the tax bill which the President threatened to veto which was also to allow for local school bonds to be issued and some tax credits for additional school construction. As we know, there are needs for additional classrooms, but we want to work as a partner and allow the schools to take advantage of Federal assistance, rather than dictate what is done in each of these school jurisdictions.

We made college more available and affordable to all students through tuition tax credits. We have created also through our policies the lowest student loan interest rate in 17 years. We have lived up to our commitment to special education by taking money away from Washington bureaucrats and sending it to our children's classrooms across the Nation to improve the quality of their instruction and their learning opportunity for all children.

We tried to give opportunities and choice, and make them available to

students who were stuck in school systems that just do not work, or do not fit into this maze of regulations and this square box that the bureaucrats in Washington have created.

I think that we have done an excellent job in framing the issues here in Washington. What we have not done, I think, is gotten our word out to the American people about what we intend to do in these different programs. That is sometimes because of the shrill rhetoric of the other side.

I want to also talk tonight in the field of education about one of the areas I have tried to improve in the committee. Again, under the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING), the Committee on Education and the Workforce has done an incredible job in improving education, and part of that, again, is the battle that is being waged here about what gets put in the final product.

I want to talk about Head Start. I consider myself one of the strongest advocates of Head Start, and any program, education program, that will take the neediest children in our society and give them an opportunity to have an advantage, particularly those who are needy, those who are disadvantaged, and to give them every opportunity to succeed in our educational system.

Long before they created Head Start, I was involved in a Head Start program in a local community where I went to college. And again, I was in the School of Education at the University of Florida. If we look at disadvantaged students, if we look at students that are needy, that do not have educational opportunities, we must realize as a society that we are creating our future problems in society if we do not address their needs. We must correct them at the earliest possible age and stage, because that is when they learn the basics and fundamentals: reading, writing, mathematics, all of these foundation skills that are so important.

So I became involved early on. I support Head Start. The concept is great. But unfortunately, what has happened is what has happened with the bureaucracy I described here, and this chart could be used to describe the bureaucracy we have created in Head Start. The same thing has happened.

I have testified before the Committee on Education and the Workforce in this Congress and in former Congresses to try to explain the need to assist communities such as my community, and one of the Head Start programs in my community, with the need for flexibility; the need to address, again, areas of our country which have needs but do not fit into that Washington bureaucratic mold.

Let me say that the Republican majority has funded Head Start at its highest levels, and our FY 1999 appropriations bill will have more than \$150 million. I am sure when the final figures are in it will have an increase, and

that is important. It is not just how much money we throw into these programs or put into these programs, it is what happens with the programs, what results do we get from the programs.

I had a parent come to me several years ago who alerted me about one Head Start program in central Florida. I might say that there are many Head Start programs that work very well. We may or may not need to make changes in some of these programs.

I have advocated a change as far as the quality of opportunity, the quality of the Head Start program. I am very pleased that the Republican majority, with some help from others on the other side of the aisle, we will incorporate some of my recommendations into improving Head Start. Let me give the Members a great example of how this program does not work the way it was intended everywhere.

Again, I had a mother come to me and alerted me about a program. She was a single parent, a very smart lady, and wise to put her children, her two children, into this program. Her husband had departed and left her with the children. She wanted to give them every opportunity. She put them into a Head Start program, and then she was on the local advisory council. She started looking at what was going on with this Head Start program.

Two of my counties, actually, one in my district and one in another congressional district, have so few students that they cannot make a total program that meets all the requirements of the Federal Head Start. Again, there are these regulations and mandates. So they came together, even though they are miles and miles apart, and it does not make much sense, but that is the way we have to do it in order to participate.

This parent asked me to look into what was going on in the Head Start program. I got a copy of the budget. I visited all the Head Start programs in my district. I visited the private school programs. I got a copy of their budget. I have a copy of their budget.

The budget for this Head Start program requires over 20 administrative or bureaucratic positions, and some may be necessary. There are various education coordinators, family services coordinators, nutrition coordinators. Someone has to decide whether you have a lot of peanut butter or too much jelly, but they require all of these folks, and they may all be necessary positions, some of them, but we have 20-some administrators. We have 18 teachers, so-called teachers in the program.

The teachers in the Head Start program make from \$12,000 to \$18,000. Here is the list of their salaries. I should say it starts at \$11,618. The administrators make from, well, the lowest one I can find here is \$17,000 up to \$50,000. I have in this program less than 500 students, and I have over 20 administrators earning from \$17,000 to \$50,000 to administer this program. The cost per pupil in this

program is nearly \$6,800. The very best private preschool program in my district I could send a child to, and it has longer hours than the program that currently exists, which would benefit the single working mother, because sometimes they cannot get their child out of school in the middle of the day when the Head Start program ends.

How does it make sense to have that many administrators? I begged and pleaded with the committee and with the bureaucrats to change this. Unfortunately, they would not change this. They granted us very little flexibility. But this is exactly what this argument is about. It is how many bureaucrats, how many folks we can mandate from Washington, and they do not want to give any flexibility. We built this into a great little bureaucracy; not a little bureaucracy, unfortunately, but a big bureaucracy. Who gets the disadvantage from this? It is those children that need it the most. We are spending the money on overhead, not on classrooms.

Let us look at the teachers who earn, so-called teachers, from \$12,000 to \$18,000. I won part of this battle, but they fought us tooth and nail. We are demanding quality in these Head Start programs so that that disadvantaged child has the best opportunity.

I will tell the Members, this is not all of the Head Start programs, and we must sort through them to make certain that we have quality. But when I went into some of those programs, I saw that the students there did not have the best opportunity. They did not have opportunities to the best exposure.

So if we take them out of a tough setting, a setting where they are not exposed to the culture, to the education, to other opportunities, language skills, and we put them back into that in some type of a minority hiring program, what have we done to these students? We have done them a great disadvantage.

So this has been one of the great, fundamental debates that is going on here. It is not just about dollars or number of dollars into these programs, it is about the quality of the programs, how the taxpayer dollar is spent, to give the flexibility. There are small districts and there are small areas in rural areas with disadvantaged students who have no opportunity to participate because they cannot afford the administrative overhead that this requires. They would not grant us the flexibility to do that.

We did get some concessions. Let me describe some of them in the legislation that will pass, I hope. We have provisions, and our side insisted on language and literacy growth assistance for children. We proposed new education performance standards and measures. We are asking for legislation that ensures that children, and listen to this, that they develop print and numeracy awareness, that they understand and use oral language to commu-

nicate for different purposes, they understand and use increasingly complex and varied vocabulary, they develop and demonstrate an appreciation for books, and in the case of non English speaking children, progress towards acquisition of the English language.

I think back to my grandparents, all of whom were immigrants. If their children had gone to public schools and they had not been given the opportunities we are talking about here and the exposure, if we had put them into another immigrant or minority setting, if we had not exposed them to the language skills, if we had not given them the opportunity to learn English, where would my parents and others in my family have gone?

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So, we have lost track of where we wanted to go with this program. We, as Republicans, want to bring accountability. We want to bring quality to Head Start. We support Head Start. We will fund Head Start. But the battle is about how the dollars are expended and what are the results with taxpayer dollars. Because there are many Americans who work very hard to send their money to Washington. They want that money spent on programs that assist those most in need.

We are a very compassionate society and we have a responsibility because, again, those children, if they do not develop these skills, they will be our discipline problems, they will be our learning problems, they will be our dropout problems, they will be our crime problems, and we will pay for them at the other end.

So, it is important that we fund viable Head Start programs. That we have flexibility, but we also have accountability. That we reach out. We are now serving in Head Start 830,000 students. With just a little bit of flexibility in my community, if they had granted me that flexibility, I could have sent half the kids to the best preschool programs and sent the other half to any program of their choice, if they had granted us a little bit of flexibility.

So, instead of serving 500, we could have served a thousand. But, again, this need to control things here in Washington, to maintain the bureaucracy, the control, and set all these regulations in one box, whether they serve Central Florida or a rural area in Texas or Michigan or whenever, they did not want to do that.

So, that is what this fight is about tonight. The battle is not because Republicans do not care about education. In fact, the battle is because Republicans care about education and they care that in fact we are not getting a return for our tax dollars.

I would like to also take an opportunity to talk tonight about another issue which I think is very important. We have heard the other side talk about children and how they are concerned about children and care about children. I think it is an area that we

need to talk about as Republicans, as majority members.

I came to this Congress, Mr. Speaker, in 1992 when Bill Clinton was elected President. When Bill Clinton was elected President, he began a dismantling of our drug enforcement programs. I spoke more than any other Member on the floor of the House and in committee about what was going on.

Bill Clinton dismantled interdiction. He dismantled use of the military. He dismantled the Andean strategy to stop the drugs at their source. He hired Joycelyn Elders, the infamous Surgeon General, our chief health officer, who said "Just say maybe" to our children. He took the Coast Guard and the military out of our fight in the war on drugs. Just one disaster after another, and we are paying for it today.

We have the highest incidence of drug use and abuse, particularly among our children, that this Nation has ever seen. From 1992 to present, the statistics for heroin, cocaine, methamphetamines, hard drugs has skyrocketed.

In today's paper, in the Washington Times, there is a big article about cocaine cartels taking on a new product, heroin. Heroin that has killed so many in my district. Let me read what Tom Constantine, the Drug Enforcement Administrator, said in this article. And I quote,

"For years we have seen a hard-core, older population of approximately 600,000 heroin addicts. Today, we are seeing 11th and 12th graders turning to heroin. These initiates are at the outset of a long, downward spiral into hard-core addiction or death."

That is what has happened. In every area, our young people, some in the elementary schools, are now exposed to hard drugs, cocaine, heroin, methamphetamines. We have 15,000 deaths, many of them teens. I come from Central Florida. I have held this up many times on the floor of the House, Orlando number two in cocaine deaths. Long out of sight, heroin is back killing teens. We have lost nearly two dozen teens in Central Florida to drug—heroin and cocaine—abuse just in the last year or so. It is almost becoming routine to see our young people dying.

Let me tell my colleagues what the Republicans have done. During the Democrat administration, we held one hearing on the national drug policy and that was closed within an hour and I was denied the opportunity to speak. Under the leadership of the Republican Majority, we have held over 50 hearings on our national drug policy. Part of the battle and part of the reason we are here is we wanted 3 additional billion dollars to reorganize and reinstitute the programs that were cut, the interdiction programs that were cut, the source country programs, the involvement of the military and the Coast Guard that were cut by this President.

Mr. Speaker, that is why we are here tonight, because there is a major battle looming on the streets and in the com-

munities across our land dealing with drug abuse and misuse. It is an incredible sad commentary on this administration.

And also I am concerned about the American people when they have a couple of dollars in their pockets that they do not care or express concern or outrage that this is allowed to go on. And it affects them in every community, because crime is tied into this drug use and abuse in every one of our communities.

It is particularly affecting our young people. Again, this administration has ignored any hard steps in this fight. Now, today, they are still fighting us, as the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), the chairman of our Subcommittee on National Security, International Affairs, and Criminal Justice is fighting to put the dollars that we need to stop, in a most cost-effective way, drugs at their source.

We know where the cocaine comes from. It is coming from Bolivia. It is coming from Peru. It is coming from Colombia. And there is no reason why we do not have the resources, the dollars spent there to stop drugs at their source or in interdiction where we can stop them. Trying to catch them when they get into our communities is like going out on the lawn and having a lawn sprinkler and running around with cans trying to catch all the sprinkles. We will never do it in that fashion, but we can restore the cuts that were made in 1993 through 1995 that destroyed our ability to repel drugs at our source.

That is why we are here. We are here to improve education. We are here to correct the mistakes of 40 years. Again, well-intended but misguided, and very liberal solutions which have gotten us into a fix in education that appalls every teacher, every parent, and every American who takes a serious look at public education today.

We are here because we are having a battle over where we put our resources. Do we put our resources in failed programs? Do we put our resources in programs that are cost-effective that stop drugs at their source, that restore the cuts in the Coast Guard that bring the military back into this battle so we stop heroin, cocaine and hard drugs before they ever reach our shores?

We have 2 million Americans in jail, and any sheriff or any law enforcement official will say that between 60 and 70 percent of those folks are in prison at great public expense because of drug abuse and misuse.

So, my colleagues again we come before the American people. We are winding down. Some of the easier bills are behind us. We have 13 bills to fund the government to make our system of government work. 13 bills. Eight or nine of them have been decided upon. The tough ones are still to go. But they are very important and they are very important differences in the American people and every colleague should know those differences.

Our intent again is to do the very best job for the people who sent us here with their hard-earned tax dollars. So as I conclude, I thank the Speaker for his indulgence this evening. It is my prayer and hope that we can work together to resolve these differences; that we can learn from the mistakes that have been made in the past; that we can come together in the best interest of the American people, the children that are talked about so much, whether it is education or drug policy and resolve these source social problems facing our Nation.

#### ISSUES OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from the Virgin Islands (Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I come from a part of this great country that is known as America's Paradise and for its natural beauty, its comfortable climate, and its hospitable people. But, Mr. Speaker, today the U.S. Virgin Islands is becoming a paradise lost. So, in these final hours of the 105th Congress, I rise to once again draw its attention to some issues of critical importance to my territory and to make this final plea for support and enactment.

First is the issue of the excise tax on Virgin Islands-produced rum, although I must tell my colleagues that this also applies to Puerto Rico. By law, all of the excise taxes on this rum is to be returned to the territory. But, Mr. Speaker, we have never received the full "cover over" as it is called.

In the early 1980s, it was agreed that the full 100 percent would be returned. But, due to problems unrelated to the Virgin Islands and long since resolved, it was never realized. Up until 5 years ago, we received only 77 percent of those taxes. At that time it was increased to 80 percent, but only through this fiscal year 1998.

In this year's budget submitted by the President, funds were provided to fully correct this and return the full amount to the Virgin Islands and to Puerto Rico, but this has still not been passed nor has it been assured. If nothing is done to extend the return at its current level, or hopefully at the full 100 percent, it will revert. The territory would lose badly-needed revenue, and this would further jeopardize our already troubled economy because we depend on it for needed capital projects and bond repayments.

The second issue is one that is also important to the people of Puerto Rico as it is to my own constituents in the Virgin Islands. It is the provision of insurance to meet the health care needs of our children. This too has been included and was fully offset in the budget sent to the Congress in 1997, and again in this year. Last year, the funding was cut back to one-sixth of what